

Indep.-Socialist Ticket Rejects CP Ultimatum

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Aug. 18 — All five candidates of the United Independent-Socialist ticket in New York have flatly rejected a Communist Party proposal that all of them except Corliss Lamont, nominee for U.S. Senator, withdraw from the race. The candidates' stand was made known by John T. McManus, candidate for Governor in an Aug. 16 speech at a weekend encampment organized by the Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee at Wingdale-on-the-Lake.

Sharply assailing the Communist Party's opposition to the united campaign against the two capitalist parties, McManus delivered the following statement to the meeting:

"In the Worker of Aug. 10, William Alberston, New York State Secretary of the Communist Party, stated that if the Independent-Socialist candidates should refuse to withdraw their full ticket, the Communist Party will give only 'conditional support' to the candidacy of Dr. Corliss Lamont for United States Senator."

"Speaking for myself and the other state-wide candidates, Dr. Rubinstein, Scott Gray and Captain Mulzac, we reject this proposal with no ifs, ands or buts — and I can report to you



John T. McManus (left) and Scott K. Gray, Jr., candidates respectively for Governor and attorney General of New York state on the Independent-Socialist ticket.

NY Big Party Bosses Pick Rockefeller and Harriman

NEW YORK — Ex-GOP National Chairman Leonard P. Hall's withdrawal from the race makes it a certainty that Nelson A. Rockefeller will be the candidate of the Republican Party for governor. His Democratic opponent will be the incumbent, Governor Averill Harriman.

Thus New York's voters will once more be presented with the old tweedie-tweedledum choice by the two major parties. In this case the similarity of the two candidates is even closer than usual. Both Rockefeller and Harriman are fabulously rich financiers and industrialists. Both are identified with the "liberal" wings of their parties.

The liberalism of Governor Harriman is well measured by his signing last April of the extension for another year of the "Security Risk" law which subjects New York state employees to screening for their political views. Harriman approved this thought-control measure over the protests of leading civil-liberties groups.

Neither candidate has opposed the H-Bomb armament drive or U.S. military intervention in the Middle East. Harriman has expressed his position on atomic arms by supporting Thomas K. Finletter, former Secretary of the Air Force for the Democratic nomination for Senator from New York. Finletter is one of the foremost proponents of atomic arms buildup. He was the principal sponsor of Dr. Edward Teller, the notorious "Father of the H-Bomb."

As Governor of New York Harriman recently appointed Myles J. Lane chairman of a four-member crime investigating committee. One of Lane's first acts in his new post was to jail two witnesses before his committee who invoked the Fifth Amendment. Lane was formerly an associate of Roy Cohn on the prosecuting or railroading of the Rosenbergs to the electric chair and Morton Sobell to Alcatraz.

Rockefeller, in association with General Lucius Clay, Henry Luce of the Time-Life Fortune empire, John W. Gardner of Carnegie Corp., Dr. Edward Teller and others, last January issued the Rockefeller report which together with the secret Gaither report called for even more intensive atomic

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Dulles Seeks UN Cover For Oil Rule in Mideast

Steel Union On Strike At Timken

Nine thousand workers in three plants of the Timken Roller Bearing Company in Ohio have been on strike since July 23. The plants are located at Canton, Columbus and Zanesville, Ohio. They are under contract to the AFL-CIO United Steel Workers.

The workers of the Timken Corporation were forced to strike when the company refused to negotiate changes in pension benefits that would bring Timken standards up to the level of the rest of the steel industry.

This issue is of particular importance to Timken employees because the company has made many technological improvements, with the result that hundreds of employees have been permanently laid off. Workers with as many as 30 years seniority have been laid off with little hope of ever being rehired. The company plans to spend another \$51 million on automation and other improvements and hundreds of more layoffs are in prospect. It is to protect the pension benefits of these workers that the union is striking.

PROVOKED STRIKE

The company arrogantly refused the union's offer to extend the contract while negotiations on the pension provisions continued. Instead, management prepared for a strike by removing all processed material from its unionized plants. Some plants of this notorious open shop corporation are still unionized.

Management of the Timken Company is taking the lead in pushing a Right to Work law in Ohio. Of the first 415 petitions circulated in Stark County, where Canton is located, 400 were being pushed by the Timken forces.

In a resolution backing the Timken strikers the Executive Board of the Steelworkers International declared: "It is our belief that the Timken Roller Bearing Company wishes not only to break the local unions in its plants, but also to use this strike as a springboard to mount a nationwide offensive against our union and all organized labor . . ."

The Los Angeles Tribune in its Aug. 15 editorial: "American Committee Get Lost, Permanently," states: "It is the sheerest buffoonery that a legislative body should go about the country investigating a remote, threadbare, and not defined threat to the security of this country when the real and massive danger of anarchism from racists looms over the entire land . . . We join the committee of southerners who shook their heads as one and told the committee to 'go home,' adding California badly limp-

WE'RE HERE TO PROTECT YOU
FROM INDIRECT AGGRESSION



House Witch-Hunters Open Anti-Negro Attack

After meeting unprecedented defiance and opposition to its racist, witch-hunting expedition in Atlanta, the House Un-American Activities Committee has moved on to Los Angeles. There, beginning Sept. 2, it hopes to avenge its Southern fiasco. The largest number of Negroes ever subpoenaed at one time have been ordered before a committee inquisition at the Federal Building.

Among those already subpoenaed are nine Negroes, each of whom has fought segregation. The California Eagle in its Aug. 14 editorial titled "Mighty Poor Sleuths" states: "Whenever it has convened in the South, the Committee has done a hatchet job on every white advocate of civil rights it could lay its hands on. We don't think that these Dixie Congressmen lay aside their racist beliefs just because they wander north of the Mason and Dixon line."

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ing. Two hundred Southern Negro leaders, in an unprecedented action, wrote an open letter denouncing the hearings. Among the signers were E. D. Nixon, a leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of the Tallahassee bus boycott, and Rev. Shuttsworth, leader of integration efforts in Birmingham.

"We are acutely aware," the letter stated, "of a shocking amount of un-American activities in our Southern states. To cite only a few examples, there are the bombings of the homes, schools and houses of worship of not only colored persons, but also of our Jewish citizens . . ."

Though the Un-American inquisitors dealt some vicious blows in Atlanta — it smeared and fingered, for the White Citizens Councils and KKK, Southern whites who are for integration and cited Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson for contempt — it nevertheless reached California badly limp-

A Scoundrel's Last Refuge

Negroes in Birmingham have forced county authorities to admit that legally there is no Jim Crow barrier to civil service jobs. Led by Rev. Fred L. Shuttsworth, groups of Negroes are applying for municipal jobs. Four have taken the tests to join the city's lily-white police force.

Birmingham's racist Police Commissioner, Eugene C. Connor, invoking the crisis in the Mideast, told the press: "It is disturbing to see the Rev. Mr. Shuttsworth starting his harassment again. With war with Russia threatening us and American soldiers exposed in foreign lands, this is a poor time for agitation at home by anyone who claims to be loyal to America."

Meanwhile the Japanese workers are taking direct action to prevent their own capitalist government from joining the nuclear arms race. When ten Swiss-made rocket missiles and a launcher arrived in Yokohama, dockworkers refused to unload them on orders of the Yokohama Longshoremen's Union. Although these are not nuclear weapons and the government claims they are wanted only for research purposes, the unionists suspect a step toward atomic armament. Both the Socialist and Communist Parties are giving full support to the Longshoremen's boycott.

Meanwhile agreement has been reached between East-West scientists on means of detecting nuclear explosions. With this technical agreement achieved, the U.S. will be under greater international pressure than ever to negotiate a ban on all further tests.

Underscoring the Japanese

U.S.-British Occupation Too Raw for Assembly; Plan UN 'Police' Instead

By Myra Tanner Weiss

AUG. 20 — Secretary of State Dulles and the U.S. delegation to the United Nations have not dared to present Eisenhower's much-touted six-point Mideast program for a vote in the UN General Assembly. The reason is that the U.S. would be unable to muster the required two-thirds' vote which it once could gather with relative ease.

Not even Eisenhower's offer of an economic bribe was accepted by those whom it was supposed to tempt. Eisenhower's proposal for a regional development institution was officially ignored in Cairo. The Egyptian press treated it with contempt. For example, Al Shabab declared, "The Middle East peoples categorically refuse to discuss any plan for economic development," or anything else, until the United Nations "does its duty by ordering immediate evacuation of foreign forces from the area."

WAAGE COMPROMISE
The best that Dulles and the U.S. delegation now hope to get out of the UN Assembly is passage of the Norwegian resolution asking UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold to trot back to the Mideast for more negotiations. This resolution is "vague to the point of virtual meaninglessness," as William R. Frye put it in the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 19.

But it is also vague enough for the U.S. and Britain to do pretty much as they please, with Hammarskjold's assent, about withdrawing their occupation troops. Three nations of the Asian-African bloc, India, Ceylon and Indonesia, dissatisfied with the Norwegian "compromise," proposed a resolution calling for the "complete withdrawal" of U.S. and British troops "at an early date." The U.S. delegation rushed around frantically to pressure this compromise out of the way.

According to one source quoted in today's N.Y. Times, Dulles contended that India's resolution "would call for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from 35 countries, not merely Lebanon." However, the text of India's resolution is not that sweeping. Moreover, as is customary with UN resolutions it is full of loopholes. For example, "at an early date" is very indefinite.

The U.S. delegation suffered a big setback with a split in the once-docile Latin-American bloc. Some of these delegates fear to concede U.S. imperialism the "right" to send troops into a country on the request of an official whose term is ending or a government (Continued on Page 3)

Japanese Protests Against H-Bomb Mount

By Gordon Bailey

Opposition to atomic testing is continuing to mount in Japan as fallout from nuclear tests endangers seamen and contaminates its exports, such as the tea recently impounded in New York because it contained strontium 90.

So strong is the pressure against further nuclear bomb testing that even pro-American Premier Kishi has been forced to act. On August 6 the Japanese government announced that it was withdrawing in protest from the oceanic surveys for the International Geophysical year until the United States stopped nuclear tests in the Pacific. This decision was made after two Japanese ships, the Satsuma and Takuya, were contaminated by radioactive fallout from the U.S. atomic tests on July 14. The ships

were engaged in oceanographic surveys well outside the announced danger zones. While the 111 men of the crews seem to have escaped immediate injury, the results of months of study of ocean currents have been ruined because of the extreme decontamination measures the ships had to take.

A-BOMB A CRIME

The thirteenth anniversary of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima was marked in that city by Mayor Tadao Watanabe calling the act "a crime committed against mankind." He said, "we shall view the use of any nuclear weapons, by whatever nation, for whatever purpose, as a crime against humanity." The Japanese people oppose nuclear testing by all nations. However, since the Soviet Union has announced it has suspended tests, Japanese protests are directed at the British

and American governments who are still contaminating the atmosphere with radioactivity.

Addressing 6,000 Japanese and foreign delegates to the Fourth International Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Disarmament, Masaoburo Suzuki, Chairman of the Japanese Socialist Party, accused the United States of trying to dominate the world with nuclear weapons.

**United Socialist
Ticket in Wash.**

(See Page 4)

American CP Heads Issue Decree for New Purge of Party

By Herman Chauka

Confronted with a continuing, deep-going, internal crisis the top leadership of the Communist Party is now whetting an old-fashioned Stalinist hatchet for use on those remaining members who oppose its policies. The Aug. 17 Worker reports two statements adopted Aug. 12 by the CP National Executive Committee which declare its intention to silence or drive out of the Party all dissident voices. One of the statements lays the basis for expulsion of a group described as "ultra left." The other brands A. B. Magil, recently foreign editor of the Worker, guilty of "anti-Party" activity.

According to the NEC, a "Call to a Conference for Marxist-Leninist Action" in New York Aug. 16-17 was issued by the "ultra left" group, which is described by the NEC statement as holding the view that the CP is pursuing a Titoist policy of "revisionism."

Characterizing these views as "slanders against both the Party and its leadership," the NEC brands them as designed to "carry forward a struggle against the Party . . . It is preparation for an attempt to split the Party and is aimed at its destruction."

The NEC statement decrees that the initiators of the conference "have by this act placed themselves outside the party and merit expulsion from its ranks." It reports that the names of the "ringleaders" of the group, including Harry Haywood, Armando Roman, Ted Allen and Joe Dougher, have been turned over to "appropriate district committees for disciplinary action." The statement urges "speedy action to wipe out this anti-Party center in our midst."

VERDICT THEN TRIAL

Thus, after publicly pronouncing the group "guilty," the leadership has now assigned them to trial — assuming the recommended "disciplinary action" will be based on the formality of a trial.

The second NEC statement declares that "For the past two years the Party has been increasingly plagued with the disease of factionalism" and that there "has been a steady

Chicago Rally to Hear British Socialist MP

Harold Davies, Labor Member of Parliament and a leader of the left-wing Victory for Socialism group in the British Labor Party, will address a rally in Chicago Tuesday, Sept. 2, 8 P.M. He will speak on "Peace and the Middle East." The meeting will be held at 410 So. Michigan.

Sponsors of the meeting include: Mandel Terman of the National Council for Soviet-American Friendship; Rev. Joseph P. King, united-socialist candidate for Congress; Ernest DeMaio of the United Electrical Workers; Jack Spiegel of the Shoe Workers; Sidney Lenz of the Building Service Workers; John Hamilton, chairman of the Washington Park Forum and Eugene Feldman and Perry Cartwright of the Southern Newsletter.

Meetings with labor and farm groups are being planned for Mr. Davies in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area Sept. 3-5, including a public rally.

In Detroit, he will speak Sunday, Sept. 7, 8 P.M., at the Central Methodist Church, 23 East Adams. His subject will be "Death Stands at Attention — A Protest Against the H-Bomb Tests." A sponsoring committee for the meeting includes over 20 prominent labor, university, peace and church figures.

On Sept. 9, in Cleveland, Mr. Davies will address a membership meeting of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Local 427, AFL-CIO.

In Buffalo he will speak Wednesday, Sept. 10 at Hadji Hall. The meeting will also hear Dr. Lonnie Cross, Negro educator. From Buffalo, Davies will travel to Canada for meetings in the Toronto area and will then return to New York Sept. 14 for a mass rally.

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Is Socialist Ticket 'Anti-Soviet'?

By Ralph Carr

At the critical point in the battle to win a place on the New York ballot, the United Independent-Socialist ticket has been subjected to an attack by the leadership of the Communist Party. Falsely charging "anti-Sovietism," the attack is intended to torpedo the independent ticket's petition drive. This effort to discredit the new movement appeared as a statement by the Editors in the Aug. 17 Worker.

Preparation of its readers for this attack was attempted in an article in the July 27 Worker hitting the National Guardian for its opposition to the execution of Imre Nagy in Hungary. The Guardian, a central force in the Independent-Socialist campaign, has been, and remains, an outspoken advocate of friendship with the Soviet Union.

Extending to the Guardian the slander it has leveled over the years against the Socialist Workers Party, the Worker

said: "The Guardian, until its recent collaborative relations with the rabidly anti-Soviet, Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, has followed a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union."

McMANUS PROTESTS

The Aug. 17 Worker published a protest against this allegation by John T. McManus, general manager of the National Guardian and Independent-Socialist candidate for Governor. He said in part: "This statement invites the erroneous conclusion . . . that the Guardian has, somewhere along the line, ceased to follow a policy of friendship for the lands of socialism. Nothing could be adduced from the columns of the Guardian . . . to substantiate this conclusion."

The Worker Editors responded with a three-column barrage of new charges crammed with distortions and falsehoods about the Guardian, the SWP and other participants in the united ticket movement.

The statement of the Worker's Editors asserts that the United Independent-Socialist ticket does not represent genuine socialist unity because it includes the SWP. It charges that the ticket supporters are concerned with building a new socialist party at the expense of the fight for peace and that McManus, the SWP and others view this projected new party as a substitute for a labor party based on the unions.

The statement asks of McManus: "How can you have 'socialist unity' with a group [the SWP] whose main objective is attacks upon the socialist lands and on a genuine peace policy . . . And is it 'socialist unity' if the Trotskyites . . . spew their poison weekly through the Militant against the basic platform of peace and friendship with socialist countries on which Mr. Lamont and the other candidates stand?"

MISSTATE AIM

The Editors further assert:

"It was the view of McManus in agreement with the basic approach of the Trotskyites, that formation of a new socialist party was the PRIMARY OBJECTIVE, and not a campaign for the broadest possible expression of peace . . . A second element at the core of the dispute, is the naive view of some of the people backing McManus (a view cunningly exploited by the disruptive Trotskyites) that the organization they seek to bring into existence would both fill the role of a 'socialist' and a 'third' or 'labor' party."

What are the facts about this variety of charges? Fact number one is that all the participants in the independent-socialist campaign are solidly opposed to the U.S.-organized cold war against the Soviet Union and this opposition is the primary cement of the electoral coalition. It is precisely this stand that has evoked the blasts against it from the social-democrats and other pro-

State Department elements. The record of all the principal groupings and individuals supporting the campaign on this issue is well established and the Worker's steady chant of "anti-Soviet" cannot erase that record.

From its inception, the Socialist Workers Party has stood for the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack—despite its uncompromising political opposition to the Kremlin bureaucracy. By the same token, while opposed to the policies of the American CP, the SWP and the Militant have consistently defended that party against the witch hunters. Along with the Guardian, the Militant has been virtually the only non-CP paper to campaign against all the Smith Act trials and all other persecutions of the CP.

Since the Guardian has been read for so long by so many CP supporters, the Worker Editors did not invent a "history" of "anti-Soviet" activity for it. So it tries to palm off the charge as a "new" development, springing from association with Trotskyites, and expressed in opposition to the Nagy execution.

What of the charge that the Independent-Socialists are concerned with forming a new socialist party as counterposed to fighting for peace? The attempt to depict socialist aims as in contradiction with the fight for peace indicates how completely the CP leaders have abandoned the Marxism-Leninism to which they claim the exclusive copy-right.

The United Independent-Socialists entered the election precisely because they understand that to fight effectively for peace you have to fight the capitalist system which generates the drive toward war.

While the united ticket is, in our opinion, a step in the direction of eventual regroupment of all genuine socialists in a single party, it does not represent formation of a new party, except in the legalistic sense of ballot designation. It is a coalition of socialists and independents of varying views who are determined to do what they can to reverse the trend of isolation and division of the socialist movement in this country.

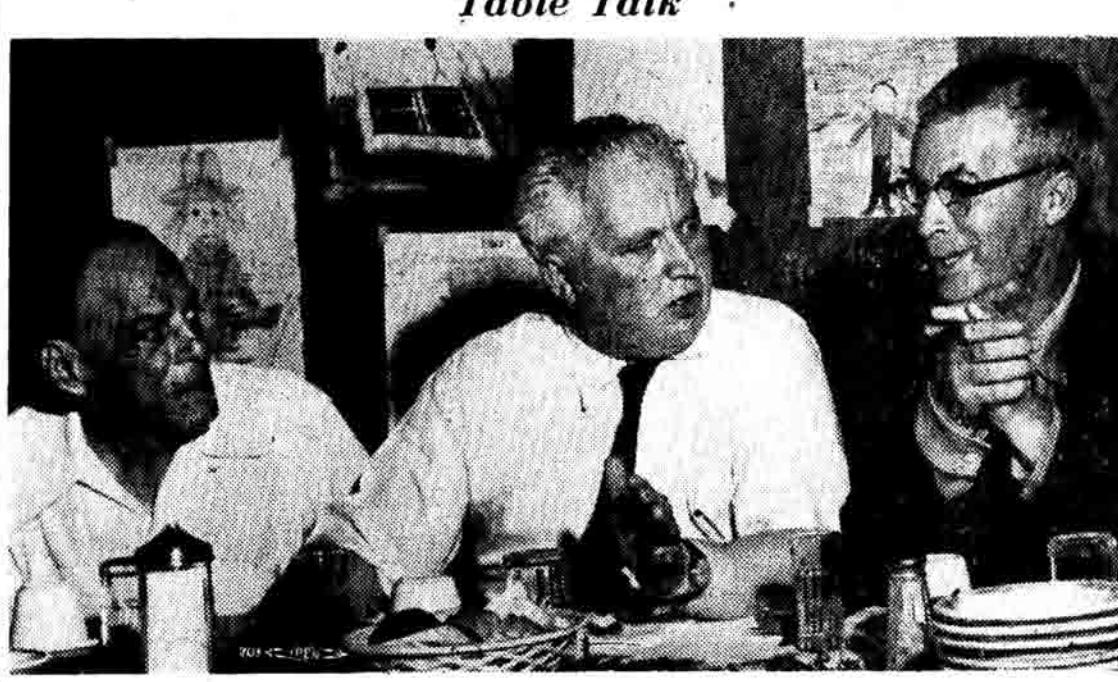
REAL AIMS

It correctly sees the election as a magnificent opportunity to spread the message of socialism and peace in opposition to the reactionary policies of both capitalist parties. At the same time it is using the electoral arena to arouse and advance the thinking in the ranks of labor and the Negro people on the need for mass independent political action.

The assertion that this socialist movement sees itself as a substitute for a labor party is patently ridiculous. Its platform stresses the need for the formation of such a party by labor and pledges to aid every development in that direction.

The real reasons for the bitter opposition of the CP tops to this campaign is essentially twofold. First is their mortal opposition to any socialist group that refuses to accept the status of blind apologists for the Kremlin. Secondly, they are determined to go along with the labor bureaucracy in support of the Democratic Party and they correctly fear the magnetic power of a militant socialist campaign on their own members who are getting fed up with campaigning for cold-war capitalist politicians.

For these reasons the CP leaders oppose with the shabbiest methods that which everyone who calls himself a communist should support whole heartedly — a united socialist movement that declares American capitalism today to be the main enemy of human progress and that presents a program of socialist opposition to it.



(Photo by William A. Price)

Harold Davies (center), Labor Member of the British Parliament, and two of New York's Independent-Socialist candidates exchange views at lunch during the United-Independent Socialist weekend encampment at Wingdale-on-the-Lake, Aug. 16-17. Seated at left is Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller and first colored captain of a U.S. merchant vessel. On right is Scott K. Gray, Jr., candidate for Attorney General.

... Indep.-Socialists Reject Ultimatum

(Continued from Page 1)

Party would say, why should I sign for these four-flushers?" Declaring, "It's premature to ask for your vote," he said, "We first need your help so that what we represent will be on the ballot. We need not only your signature on our petition, but the ones you can get."

"If we get 50,000 votes," McManus concluded, "you, your workmates and friends will have won a vehicle to express your aspirations for peace, civil liberties, civil rights and a society of security and abundance for ourselves and our children."

The encampment, which also heard Dr. Rubinstein, Scott Gray, Captain Mulzac and British MP Harold Davies, who spoke as guest of the camp management, provided a solid financial and political boost for the socialist ticket.

Almost a hundred people from New York City had made their reservations for the weekend directly through the Independent-Socialist committee and numerous other supporters of the ticket were among the approximately 450 people present over the weekend. Well over 150 people attended the lawn meeting where the candidates spoke and the one at which Mr. Davies was heard.

\$100 PHOTO
At the meeting for the candidates, over \$350 was raised through the sale of copies of a photo of the distinguished scholar, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, signing an Independent-Socialist nominating petition for John T. McManus just before sailing abroad. One hundred dollars was contributed for the original enlargement of the striking photo which had been taken by William A. Price, publicity director for the campaign committee.

Referring to the Communist Party's opposition to the united ticket, the purchaser said, "I'm paying the hundred dollars not because I'm rich but because I'm so mad at the party I belonged to for almost 40 years."

Throughout the weekend there was continuous discussion between supporters of the ticket and members and supporters of the Communist Party. A substantial number of petitions were signed at the camp, including a good number by people who had started out the weekend as supporters of the CP position.

At the Saturday rally, Captain Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller, declared the united-socialist movement was needed to oppose U.S. foreign policy which he said "is leading us into war," and which is

designed "to prevent the colored people of the world from living in freedom by, keeping them under the domination of Colonialism."

Pointing out that Truman had initiated the cold war and Eisenhower "took it from there," he told the audience, "Unless you help us put over our independent-socialist program you will be faced with one party with two labels."

BATTLE IS ON

Scott Gray, candidate for Attorney General, told the encampment how the witch hunters had forced him to close down his law offices in Albany and Troy because of his activity in the Progressive Party and other causes, and how he had gone into fruit farming in Hudson Valley. At the time, he said, "I figured I'd let my kids pick up the battle, but I was unable to do that. The battle is all around us. McCarthyism today is presumably dead, but America is faced with an even greater threat. So when Jack McManus asked me to run on the socialist ticket, after consulting with my family, I said get."

"We've had a great deal of experience in the last few years," he continued, "in voting for what we don't want and getting it, and we're sick of it."

"I told Ben Davis," she said, "that one of my prime objectives in this campaign is to get the Communist Party back into politics." She urged building a socialist movement "that can educate people on the long-range questions as well as fight on the outside."

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Henry Abrams, co-chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee and chairman of the rally, declared the ticket would fight for concrete reforms, but at the same time would be "honest and courageous enough to say many of these problems cannot be solved under capitalism and it is time to bring socialist solutions to the people of the state."

LABORITE SPEAKS

Harold Davies, an extremely effective and witty speaker, discussed the British Labor Party's opposition to the British-U.S. intervention in the Mideast. He urged an end to all such alliances as the Baghdad and SEATO pacts, urging negotiations through the UN in

stead. He called for a halt to nuclear tests and said that in his travels in many countries, including the USSR and China, he found that "all over the world, the one thing they want is peace."

When the weekend ended, supporters of the independent-socialist ticket returned to New York ready to pitch into the huge task of completing the city-wide petition goal of 20,000 signatures. The job of securing a minimum of 50 signatures in each of the 62 counties of the state is within shouting distance of completion. But securing the great bulk of signatures, which will ensure the filing of many more than the required 12,000, still remains to be done in the short time remaining before Sept. 2, the filing date.

To accomplish this huge task, the campaign committee has arranged for an all-out drive with daily collection of signatures by volunteer crews, both day and evening. The committee has appealed for participation by all supporters of the ticket.

On week days, petition gatherers will be dispatched from campaign headquarters at 793 Broadway and from the Young Socialist Alliance Hall, 144 Second Ave. Dinner will be served for canvassers working through the day or coming directly from work to the YSA Hall. Sunday mobilizations will start from the YSA Hall at 11 A.M. Breakfast and lunch will be served there.

On Wed., Aug. 27, a petition-gatherers' rally will be held after the evening's canvassing at 9 P.M. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue. Detailed reports on the status of the drive will then be made.

SCHOOLROOMS NEEDED

Conservative estimates place the need for more schoolrooms at 140,400—not for expansion—but to cope with today's over-crowded school population.

Socialist Workers Party

WHAT IT IS —

WHAT IT STANDS FOR

By Joseph Hansen

54 pages 25 cents

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New York 3, N.Y.

The meeting in Los Angeles Aug. 9, which supported New York's United Independent-Socialist Ticket, passed unanimously the following resolution on U.S. intervention in the Middle East:

"This meeting of socialist and progressive-minded citizens of Los Angeles condemns the United States military intervention in the Middle East as a threat to world peace, and an indefensible interference in the Arab struggle for freedom, unity and independence. We call upon U.S. authorities to withdraw the marines at once from Lebanon."

Another resolution condemning the House Un-American Activities Committee, also passed unanimously, declared:

"The hearings by the House Un-American Committee scheduled for Los Angeles from August 17 to 22 are a gross violation of the constitutional rights of the American people to freedom and association and belief."

"This meeting urges support to the defense of the victims of this committee and to the growing movement for the abolition of this instrument of inquisition."

The meeting was held in the Longshoremen's union hall on So. Figueroa St. and was attended by some 300 people. Sponsored by a group of individuals of varied political background, it was chaired by Leo Gallagher. Keynote speaker was Vincent Hallinan.

RETAIL WORKERS

Eight million people earn their livelihood in the retail trades but less than 3% of them are covered by the federal minimum wage law.

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When — Not If

At a Los Angeles public meeting attended by more than 350 people representing virtually all tendencies in the socialist and independent political movement, Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, urged nation-wide support for the United Independent-Socialist ticket in New York and organization of similar tickets elsewhere.

To the question "Can the Left Fuse?" Hallinan replied by asking those in the Communist Party who object to cooperating with the Socialist Workers Party in joint efforts: "What will you do when, and I don't mean if, Leon Trotsky is rehabilitated in the Soviet Union?"

On reading about this important meeting, which contributed \$200 to help get the New York ticket on the ballot, we felt that Hallinan's searching question was singularly appropriate.

In the first place, it was made only ten days before the eighteenth anniversary of the day Trotsky was struck down by an agent of Stalin. August 20 is a poignant day for followers of Trotsky.

Interested in America

In the second place, Hallinan's remark came in support of an electoral action which we are sure Trotsky would have hailed as a promising step forward for the American socialist movement. Throughout his life, Trotsky displayed keen interest in the problems of the American socialist movement. He predicted that the fate of mankind would finally be forged in America. He saw the American socialists finishing what the Russian socialists began.

For example, we recall that in 1940, the year he was murdered by Stalin's secret political police, he pressed leaders of the Socialist Workers Party on their proposed policy in the Presidential elections of that year. And they, the representatives of a relative handful of revolutionary socialists, witch-hunted from all sides, too weak to run an SWP candidate, were hard-pressed for an answer.

Trotsky suggested that if no labor figure like John L. Lewis was running in opposition to the Democratic and Republican machines, then perhaps socialists should consider supporting Earl Browder, the Communist Party candidate for President. Some in the American delegation did not know at first whether to take it as an ironic joke. Stalin was then seeking Trotsky's death and an assassin gang had machine-gunned his bedroom a few weeks before.

But Trotsky was serious. He saw that the American workers need an independent labor party and he thought that socialists should push this idea at every opportunity. He also saw the need for socialist regroupment; in his opinion most members of the Communist Party were genuine believers in socialism who would see through Stalinism sooner or later. Despite deep differences with the CP

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Monday, August 25, 1958

With Khrushchev's Help

Finally, Hallinan's remark struck us as timely because the first big obstacle to Trotsky's rehabilitation in the Soviet Union has largely been cleared away. Khrushchev did this at the Twentieth Congress when he confirmed the fact that Stalin was a paranoid who had committed crimes of monstrous character, including frame-ups and murders of countless revolutionary socialists.

It is true that Khrushchev and the other heirs of Stalin are not exactly rushing to make further corrections in the record which they helped write; but there is another force which will eventually do the job for them if they don't.

We refer to the workers in the Soviet bloc. By such actions as the wave of strikes in the concentration camps, the uprising in East Germany, the rebellion in Poland and the revolution in Hungary, they have shown — and even said — that they want the benefits of planned economy but under workers democracy, not the dictatorial rule of a parasitic bureaucracy.

As the workers proceed with their political revolution they will surely recognize as their own the great socialist leader who predicted their action correctly and gave his life to speed its development.

Here in the United States, we think that many members of the Communist Party — they were well represented at the Los Angeles meeting — will feel the truth in Hallinan's question. The fact is that many are reading Trotsky now to find out what he really stood for. They are rehabilitating Trotsky in their own minds in the only way he would want to be rehabilitated.

Not a New Cult

To members of the Communist Party who read this, we want to say that we hold no special monopoly on Trotsky. He belongs, like Debs, to any worker who wants a better society than this one and who is willing to do some serious reading and some serious thinking.

We make no cult of Trotsky. The program to be found in his works was not something he invented and patented; he simply handed it on from Lenin, from Engels, from Marx.

The first plank in that program is independent political action — a clean break from the Democrats and Republicans. The second plank is to stand up for socialism and spell it out in concrete issues.

To help bring these two planks, properly spelled out, to the widest attention of the electorate is a fitting way, in our opinion, to show appreciation for Trotsky in 1958.

... Seek UN Cover for Oil Rule

(Continued from Page 1) in Iraq. Thousands have been faced with revolution. They know full well the U.S. may use such a precedent against them.

HANDS OFF

The Yugoslav delegation made a serious concession to the imperialist bloc when it agreed to the proposal for "an adequate presence of the UN as a safeguard against any foreign interference." Such a "safeguard" would itself constitute "foreign interference." The Arab people should be allowed to decide their national and political problems without any imperialist interference, even in UN armbands.

Nowhere is the reactionary interference of the imperialists clearer than in Jordan. King Hussein is opposed by at least 85% of his "subjects," who would throw him out were British troops not holding bayonets at their throats. Hussein has imposed a reign of terror in Jordan since the revolution

in Iraq. Hussein, World War I ally, "by giving him a kingdom."

Since 1954 the U.S. has poured over \$100 million into Jordan. While the government's yearly receipts total only \$25 million, its expenses are \$92 million, more than half for the army. Dulles expects U.S. taxpayers to pay the difference to keep King Hussein's police state going.

While the public debate goes on in the foreground of the UN, no one knows what secret deals are being made in the corridors. Ominous is the U.S. evacuation of American citizens from Jordan and predictions of an Israeli invasion from across the Jordan river if King Hussein is toppled from his throne.

The Wall Street Journal speculates, Aug. 20, that the U.S. will have to give up Jordan and hope to retain influence by permitting its union with Iraq. Much as Secretary Dulles dislikes the word "neutralism," he'd now be happy to see Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq stay in the middle. That's something that we've got to learn to live with," a U.S. diplomat concedes," according to the Journal.

UNPOPULAR

The troubles of the U.S. government are by no means confined to Jordan and Lebanon. The government of Morocco, where there are huge U.S. military bases, prevented the unloading of U.S. munitions ships. Saudi Arabia, formerly regarded as secure for Wall Street, joined the Soviet Union and UAR demand for immediate withdrawal from the Mideast of U.S. and British troops.

THE RIVER

"Then many, many people go into the river — is the Matoyasu River there — and I just watching those people. Many people are drinking water but they fell in and die and they floating — floating away, so many people.

"That time I am not afraid. Just I want to go home. I think, I walk home. Many, many smoking fires are there; everywhere fires. Many, many people are running, all burned. Many hurts. Everybody is crying something. I cannot hear because so many, many voices cry or calling names. You know?

"Someone pushed me, but I find I am so pained in my hands. They are burn pains. So hurt in my hands when I try to push old woman. So hurt to touch her. I through gestures you gather that Shigeko, unable to use her hands, used her elbows to roll the old woman out of the path of a populace in panic."

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What Kremlin Seeks at a Summit Parley

By George Lavan
(Second of two articles)

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pearances and merely to go through the motions of negotiation without any intent of reaching an important agreement. This will be the role played by the U.S. at any summit meeting it may attend in the near future, barring any drastic changes in its situation.

Its attendance would be reluctant and only because the pressure of mass opinion abroad, transmitted through allies, particularly British imperialism, made it wisest to go through the motions. The State Department's present strategy of no major settlement with the Soviet bloc would remain unchanged, in substance, the change would be merely one of tactics — of pretending to be willing to negotiate.

If this is so, why do the Kremlin leaders persist in their demand for a summit conference? First, it is a standing offer to an overall settlement to U.S. imperialism. Second, it is effective in demonstrating to the whole world that the USSR is willing and anxious to settle the cold war and stave off another world war. Third, the Soviet leaders stand to lose nothing even at an "insincere" summit meeting. Indeed, by proving that a meaningful summit outcome had been frustrated by the U.S., the Soviet leaders would be able to increase the mass demands on the U.S. and its allies for real settlement of the war danger. This mass pressure, they hope, might force some of the U.S. allies into "neutralism" and, in any case, would further embarrass Washington's foreign policy.

Such possible developments, plus the weakening of imperialism by the colonial revolution, the military technological

achievements of the USSR, and an inevitable economic crisis in the capitalist world, will eventually bring about a situation, the Kremlin leaders hope, in which U.S. imperialism will be willing to participate in a "sincere" summit meeting.

NO BLIND FAITH

Socialists can have no objection to the governments of the Soviet bloc engaging in negotiations or concluding treaties with imperialist countries. It would certainly be to the advantage of the USSR and China to secure a negotiated settlement of the war threats. Of course, as any experienced unionist could well testify, no blind faith should be put on the "sacred oath" of a boss or a bosses' government.

Similarly, normalization of diplomatic and commercial relations with the imperialist powers is a legitimate aim of China and the Soviet bloc.

What socialists must object to is in summit negotiations, if they ever seriously take place, is that the Kremlin leaders are prepared to trade off the interests of the international working class and its struggle for socialism as well as the colonial liberation movements.

This is the hidden content of the "coexistence" policy, though it may come as a shock to people who believe that "peaceful coexistence" simply means no war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. However, study of Kremlin policy reveals that it covers an offer to freeze the world status quo.

In return for final recognition of the present Soviet sector of the world by U.S. imperialism and a promise of non-interference therein, the bureaucracy would underwrite the continued existence of capitalism in the rest of the world. It would use its influence internationally to this end. The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries would in effect police the labor movement to keep it from taking a course endangering capitalism and thus endangering "peaceful coexistence."

Such an unscrupulous trading off of the interests of the international proletariat and of the colonial revolution has been an integral part of Kremlin foreign policy since Stalinism consolidated its bureaucratic grip on the USSR. Its fullest expression to date followed the Teheran-Yalta summit meetings. For the American CP it meant promoting the no-strike pledge (to be continued even after the war), sidetracking of the Negro struggle for equality, etc. In the colonies, for example India, the Yalta-Teheran deal meant CP opposition to the independence struggle.

Though sell-outs of the interests of the international proletariat and colonial peoples by the Moscow bureaucrats can, as in the past, do incalculable damage, they cannot permanently succeed. The class struggle is just as irrepressible as imperialism's economic compulsion to expansion and militarism.

These were the irrepressible forces which blew up the coexistence deal of Teheran-Yalta.

Right after the war, U.S. imperialism was driven by the



KHRUSHCHEV

need for mastery of the whole world, not just part; and it had a monopoly of the Atom bomb. On the other hand, while Stalin had been able to deliver on his no-revolution promises in France and Italy, he was unable to deliver in Yugoslavia where he had guaranteed British imperialism a 50% influence.

Nor would Stalin's successors be able to deliver for long on a new summit deal promising capitalism that its present sector of the world would remain safe from socialism.

THE DETERRENTS

The most effective deterrents of the outbreak of World War III are today: (1) the military-technological stalemate (H-bombs, rockets), which the USSR achieved through the planned economy that enabled it to catch up and even surpass capitalism's most advanced industrial power in this field.

(2) The colonial revolution which in China continued on to social revolution, removing an enormous population and area from the capitalist world into the Soviet sector. The colonial revolution, still in its first or independence stage, has swept from Asia to the Mideast to Africa. It has weakened world imperialism and prevented that international consolidation it requires before the launching of a world war.

(3) The working class in the capitalist countries. Ineffective at present because of lack of a militant class-struggle policy which leads directly to the actual struggle to throw out the capitalists and institute socialism. When the capitalist rulers are faced with a working class proceeding on a class-struggle line, they will abandon their designs abroad in the effort to preserve themselves at home.

PLIGHT OF JOBLESS

In the ten months of recession from November through July, average unemployment insurance benefit nationally has been \$31 per week. About a third of the unemployed have not been eligible to receive unemployment insurance payments. Their only recourse was public assistance rolls.

Calendar of Events

CHICAGO

Hear Harold Davies, British Labor Party MP on international tour, speak on "Peace and the Middle East," Tues., Sept. 2, 8 P.M. 410 S. Michigan, 8th Floor. Donation 50 cents.

Advertisement

DETROIT

Larry Dolinski, Socialist Workers candidate for Lieut. Governor, will speak on "The Need for a Labor Party," Fri. Aug. 29, 8 P.M. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

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not open again. Many people sit to rest. So hard to walk with all burning. I think to myself I can't stand up from that old lady any more. My shoes are so heavy. One shoe is off. So many things burning.

"People are saying, 'Rain is from plane. Black rain from gasoline, or something.' Nobody knows what is this rain. They gray, and many, many people down all around me. I hear many burned. I mean, I have many burns but I don't feel so much, but strange.

"The many people look so awful. Skin come off. Awful, just awful. Make me so scared, so afraid. I never know such hurt on people. Not human.

"If I'm in Hell — that's right, Hell! — I thought if Hell, it is like this. Everything is not human. No faces, no eyes, and red and burned all things, like woman hair awful looking, dusty and smoking with burning.

"People die in the streets. Such rush. Many so tired. So much burning, can't go along well. I shall never forget old woman who does not die: just can't walk. She is fallen and people is stepping on her. People is without — without energy to walk around the poor old woman."

Shigeko's mother, the wife of an oysterman, searched the ruined area between her home and the school for four days and nights. Though the faces of the survivors were burned and bloated beyond recognition she counted on recognizing her daughter's dress. On the fifth day she found her under a shed with other helpless survivors. Ten years later Miss Nimoto came to the U.S. with a group of Hiroshima maidens for plastic surgery on her face and finger stumps.

"I never want to dream," she says. "It's good when I'm alive now. I have something. I shall do good. I shall bring peace."

10,000 LOSE HOMES
The Federal Home Loan Bank Board has reported that nearly 10,000 people lost their homes through mortgage foreclosure in the first three months of the year.

In the Richest State

By Henry Gitano

On August 18th, the New York Times reported "the nation's first attempt to hurl a rocket around the moon." The same day, the NAACP released its report to New York's Governor Harriman documenting the terrible misery of Southern Negro farm labor in N.Y. where "the majority of the workers received \$1 or \$2 at the end of each week's work. . . One hundred workers live in a series of attached tar-paper and clapboard shacks, with paper-patched roofing and sides, with the most primitive sanitary facilities. . . Frank Skinner has earned \$1 a week. When he asked for his wages, he was told he owed for transportation, room rent, food, etc."

The report was prepared following NAACP Labor Secretary Herbert Hill's investigation of 40 migrant labor camps in New York. Only three farm bosses were keeping payroll records and giving wage statements to the workers, as required by law. Describing virtual peonage, the NAACP report charges that "with some rare exceptions migratory farm workers throughout the State of N.Y. are the victims of a vicious system of economic exploitation. In many instances we found that after months of harvesting crops in N.Y. state, workers are returned in open trucks to their home communities in Florida, Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina, virtually penniless."

Demanding enforcement of state laws to protect migratory farm workers, the NAACP refreshed Governor Harriman's memory of his "public statements regarding these grave social problems." As Herbert Hill of the NAACP stated at the N.Y. state legislature while discussing farm labor in Sept. 1953, the lack of vigorous law enforcement "is tantamount to tacit collusion" between the state government and the farm bosses.

Around 32,000 migrant farmers, mostly Southern Negroes, are brought to N.Y. each year to harvest one-third of the state's \$200,000,000 farm crop.

Allen Keller, vividly described the poverty and bondage of these forgotten people in a series of articles which appeared in the N.Y. World Telegram (Sept. 1953) and were subsequently reprinted in

pamphlet form. "Torture is the word for picking beans and tomatoes in the sun. A harvester has to stoop over to within a foot of the ground or get down on his knees and drag himself along, pushing his bushel basket ahead of him. It goes on for hours and hours, often until the sun has been down so long it is hard to distinguish beans from branches."

"To feed the children the parents are virtually compelled to work in the fields. And what happens to the children? I saw them locked in old jalopies to keep them out of harm. I saw them crawling in and out of hovels 10 by 12 feet in size that are homes for entire families. . . Often there was no one to prepare a midday meal and the babies and little children go from breakfast to supper with nothing to eat."

"Many migrants take their children in the fields with them. Children seven to ten years of age work at harvesting the 'stoop crops' in the bitter sun. In N.Y. State — richest and supposedly most enlightened of all the 48 — I saw hovels that were not 'adequate' for storing empty baskets away from the weather, let alone human beings."

The scandalous exploitation of these workers, forced to work backbreaking hours while living in squalor, forced the admission by N.Y. state industrial commissioner Lubin, on Nov. 13, 1957, that human beings could not be expected to live under conditions such as exist on many farms in upstate N.Y. A state survey showed that 10% qualified for a health rating of "excellent." But even in these "excellent" camps, children share the same beds with adults in one small room.

The U.S. government expended all the money and skill needed to develop the nuclear-powered submarine Nautilus and sent it 1,830 miles under the North Pole ice pack. But for the migrant farm workers — the most oppressed and hopeless people in this country — the rulers of America have no concern. In the richest state of the most prosperous country in the world, there live people, hard-working people, who can truthfully state, as one oppressed American farm worker summarized it, "We couldn't be worse off if we tried."

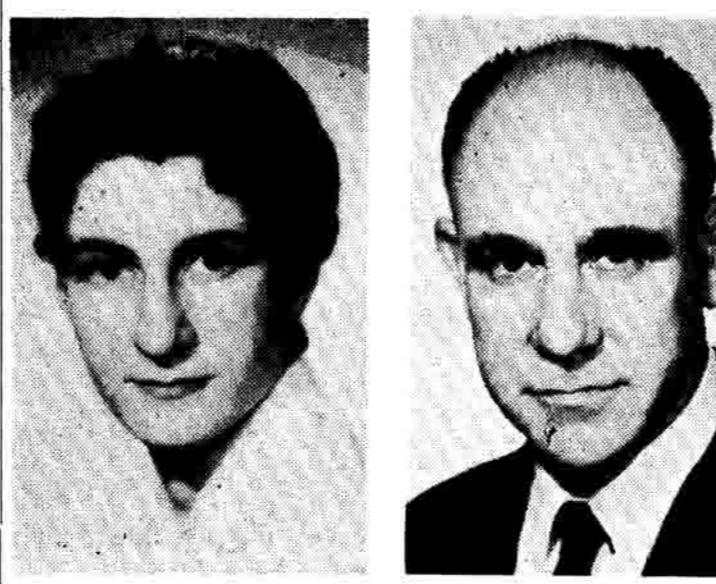
VOLUME XXII

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, AUGUST 25, 1958

NUMBER 34

Seattle Conference Plans United Socialist Ticket



Evelyn Sell (left) and Frank Lovell, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in Michigan for Senator and Governor respectively.

Lovell Calls on Rivals To Debate Key Issues

DETROIT, Aug. 18 — Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers candidate for Governor, sent the following letter today to Paul D. Bagwell, Republican candidate for Governor:

"I have read excerpts from Governor Williams' sarcastic answer to your challenge to debate the issues of the current campaign. Your challenge is in the best traditions of American politics, whereas his refusal is reminiscent of Tammany-type politicians who seek to conceal their real aims.

"It is patently false for Williams to claim there could be little prospect of any serious joining of issues in this manner."

"Of course, there must be agreement among debaters on the particular subject for debate, but beyond that, nothing else need be agreed in advance. For my part, I think the threat of war and the recurrent economic crises that plague our society are the overriding issues that today face all of us.

"On these two questions — war and unemployment — I am not in agreement with the answers given by you or Governor Williams. I am willing to debate these questions, or any others, with you or with both you and Governor Williams if he should decide at a later date to enter the debate.

"I hope you will give my proposal serious consideration and that I may hear from you at your earliest convenience."

BUSINESS FAILURES

Business failures according to Dun and Bradstreet show failures up from 1000 a month a year ago to a peak of 1500 last March and down again to 1341 in May. The current rate is 55 failures per 10,000 concerns.

SEATTLE, Aug. 16 — In a spirited six-hour session here today at Washington Hall, an enthusiastic Conference of Independents and Socialists agreed to run candidates in the November elections in the state of Washington. It further adopted a hard-hitting platform centering on the issues of peace, civil liberties, civil rights, jobs, free trade unions and socialism.

Following a lively discussion on the advisability of organizing a new party for the fall elections, the delegates voted overwhelmingly for the Presiding Committee's proposal to begin a united independent-socialist campaign. The Conference then proceeded to work out its program. Four separate panels met and after intense discussion made proposals to improve the program. The changes and additions were all adopted by the reconvened full Conference. The adoption of resolutions, organization of a Continuations Committee, a closing address and the singing of Solidarity Forever ended the proceedings.

FRATERNAL MOOD

A spirit of fraternal cooperation between representatives of many different radical and progressive tendencies marked the conference. Despite sharp differences on some questions, the desire of all delegates for collaboration so that a meaningful electoral alternative to voters in this state could be presented, was decisive. The delegates present represented the following ideological positions: SWP, Communist Party, pacifists, former Progressive Party, in-

dependent radicals and socialists; militant unionists; civil libertarians. Representatives of the Anvil Club, a University of Washington socialist youth organization, read a statement proposing programmatic changes to the Conference and members of the Young Socialist League attended as silent observers.

The large, broad and representative Continuations Committee includes, among others: Dr. Jay Friedman, Jay Sykes, Dr. Herbert J. Phillips, Richard Fraser, Dot Davis, R. D. Casey, and Mary Wright. Dr. Phillips, former professor of philosophy at the University of Washington, was hunted out of his job, served as a member of the Presiding Committee. When nominated for the Continuations Committee, he informed the Conference that while he felt honored and was willing, he would continue to advance his position that not a socialist but a purely independent campaign was indicated. A few delegates replied that he should accordingly serve as an observer instead of a member, but the ensuing discussion and debate revealed that the dominant sentiment was that of a delegate who said: "He should ride along with us as far as he wants and he can get off the wagon whenever he wants. Meanwhile, we welcome his participation." A motion was then passed to include Dr. Phillips on the committee in whatever status he himself desired.

CP STAYS OUT

There was no official representation from the Communist

Party at the conference. Previous to it, Burt Nelson and Milford Sutherland, CP state officials, at their request, met with Dr. Friedman to discuss the forthcoming conference. While invited to attend, they did not definitely indicate whether they would be present or not. On the day of the conference both came to the hall, surveyed the audience and then vanished, returning later for a second quick look. They then disappeared not to be seen again.

The conference was formally convened by Dr. Jay Friedman, chairman of the local American Forum — for Socialist Education. The first speaker was Jay Sykes, a civil liberties attorney, who called for a new party with a platform of "peace, equality and freedom." He explained that he was not a socialist, but since the two major parties were bankrupt and incapable of achieving progress, he would support a socialist party. He cited the great achievements of minority parties in past history despite their small size and resources. Jack Wright, a leading socialist and labor militant, called for a fight against Initiative 202, the "Right to Work" law and all anti-labor legislation. "A united independent-socialist campaign," he said, "can act as an impulse to the labor movement to break with company-union politics and enter politics as an independent force."

A PROBLEM

One disputed issue at the conference was the current local campaign of Alice Franklin Bryant who is taking advantage of Washington's open primary to conduct an energetic pro-peace, anti-nuclear weapons campaign in the Democratic primary against Senator Jackson, a notorious war-monger. The conference was presented with a resolution by the Presiding Committee which commended Mrs. Bryant's stand but urged her to continue her fight outside of the war parties and join with the united socialists as the only effective way to stop the bi-partisan war policy.

Two Presiding Committee members opposed it since they were for supporting both the united ticket and Mrs. Bryant's campaign as two different methods of fighting for peace. This position received a small amount of support from the floor, but the resolution carried since no one wished to make a big issue of it in view of its general support. The panel discussions revealed that the delegates were primarily concerned with a strong anti-war plank and with the current assault against labor, civil liberties and civil rights.

The conference voted to hold a convention on Primary Day, September 9, to nominate candidates. Under Washington laws, at least 100 delegates to such a convention, who have not voted in the primary elections that day and who are properly registered voters, must sign a nominating petition to place candidates on the ballot. All Washington residents who want to help the united ticket get on the ballot are asked to attend this convention on Primary Day and to sign the nominating petition. Such a signature constitutes the individual's vote in the primaries.

The closing address at the conference was given by Richard Fraser, local SWP organizer. Pointing out that what was being witnessed was not only the dispersal of separate old tendencies and ideas in the left, but the coming together and unification of other tendencies, he urged the conference to see itself as part of that process. "But we are only the beginning of that process," he said, "let us not confuse it with the end. We start out together on the common ground of opposing the rule of Big Business. That is a good foundation upon which to begin. But we shall go forward. I am confident, to agreement on further broad questions and then on more concrete tactical problems. We have started a dynamic process and we should patiently and hopefully help it to develop."

Information about the United Independent-Socialist Election Committee may be obtained by writing to Box 383, 920 Third Ave., Seattle. The committee requests technical, financial and moral assistance to develop a powerful and effective campaign.

The Madman of Seneca Street

By Theodore Kovalesky

In Buffalo one machinist asks another, "Hey, have you got the twelve inch Verniers?" — and his fellow worker responds with a grin, "Hell, I took those down on Seneca St. last week." With an answering grin the first replies, "You know, you might have done just that!"

It is an old joke in the Buffalo shops, the joke about stealing the company's tools and pawning them. For in the vocabulary of any Buffalonian, "Seneca St." is synonymous with "pawnshops."

You leave the downtown section of Buffalo and walk eastwards on Seneca St. You go from the immense banks and looming office buildings, and within one block you have left the area of immense wealth. Another block, and you enter an area of immense poverty.

If you go during business hours you will see working people, second-shifters or the wives of day-shift men, entering and leaving old stores whose filthy display windows are crammed with ancient stoves and refrigerators, with second-hand furniture in mild or acute stages of disrepair. You will see shabby men arguing about the price of shabby suits with the proprietors of second-hand clothing establishments.

And you will see, lining the sides of the street like a cluttered border, pawnshop after pawnshop, their windows gorged with guitars, machinists' tools, shotguns, and more watches and rings than you will find in the jewelry shops of the city.

It is an old and evil street, a filthy fissure between dark cliffs of outworn buildings. Like the streets of Harlem or lower Manhattan it is dingy and treeless. The decaying brick buildings rise three and four stories — sometimes five — above the pavement, and their long rows of windows gape monotonously down like portals of despair. Many of them are entirely empty, opaque with grime. Through some you can see skewed piles of boxes, and you may assume that these, formerly dwelling places, have been converted into warehouses. On the sills of others sit flowerpots, the pathetic gardens of the poor.

This part of Seneca St. is quiet for a while after business hours. The warehouse windows darken; the windows with the flowerpots glint bluish or greenish yellow with the incandescence of unshaded light bulbs ricocheting from painted walls. In a handful of little shops lights go on and the humming of the machines becomes more audible. But the pawnshops

grow dim. Strong steel barriers have been unfolded and stretched across their doors and windows. The three brass balls, some still hanging over the doorways, but most merely painted on signs, no longer beckon. Woe to the despairing alcoholic who now rushes here in his urgent need! No more sorry bargains will be consummated here until tomorrow.

The sidewalk of Seneca St. at this hour is almost deserted, although signs of its past life lurk beneath your feet. Here the broken cement is stained with a gush of some dried, unknown — and probably unmentionable — fluid that has been spewed upon it. There along the side of a dusty building it is chalky with the dropping of pigeons. Let a truck roar down the street, let its motor backfire, and a cloud of pigeons pours through the gorge between the buildings, swoops over the rickety fire escapes in brief panic, and then disperses once again to hidden nests. The truck roars into silence. The birds disappear. Life once more leaves Seneca St.

But nearby, around the corners of the neighborhood, it goes on. And here you find it is chiefly a neighborhood of men. You see them sitting on steps, on low ledges. They are dull-eyed men, ragged, unshaven men who could never begin to pay for the amount of dental work their ruined mouths require. Look another way and you see, through a gap in the masonry, diesel engines moving in the end of the railroad yards. Beyond them, although not visible, lies part of the harbor. The loud gase of tugboat whistles drifts in. The diesel clang their bells. But Seneca St. lies lifeless under its blanket of filth and doom.

Now it was into this place that a madman came in the late afternoon of Saturday August 2. It is not reported that he was seen, but I think he came skipping and laughing. I think this lunatic came dancing and singing for he was that kind of lunatic. Late on that Saturday afternoon he came to the sad canyon of Seneca St. past the barricaded pawnshops, over the smeared and crusted pavement, past the deserted doorways, through the hard, treeless shadows. Humming and chuckling he must have come, a forty-year-old, gray-haired lunatic in a gray pin-striped suit (as they described him later).

At about 5:30, it is thought, he entered the Lloyd's Wholesale Druggist's warehouse through a skylight. Did he waited? Did he somehow imagine that the children of these gray and treeless streets should

swing his way happily up the precarious framework of the fire escape, grinning at the sky? Or did he scale the walls of the smoky old building like a laughing fly? Nobody knows, for nobody was looking when he came.

At 6:00 P.M. his real work began. Probably he spent the first half hour checking over the stock. Then he went to the front door and opened it.

Now I have said that Seneca St. was dead, that it dies at a certain time each day. That is true. But even the dead sands of the desert have here and there some life that moves upon their surface. And so with Seneca St. So with all the areas of the poor. There is always a child, lean, with alert eyes, that will dart from an alleyway. And, unseen, in gravel enclosures behind the warehouses and shops must be others. And out beyond, in the radius of the children's mysterious grapevine, more children. There are always children.

So the lunatic raced merrily to the door and flung it open. Expectantly he peered out into the street, looking for the child that he knew would come.

What bright thoughts bubbled and sparkled in his mind as he waited? Did he somehow imagine that the children of these gray and treeless streets should

have bicycles, bright new bicycles, red racers, like the children of peaceful residential sections where the homes are pleasant islands surrounded completely by ample green seas of grass? Did some distorted logic tell him that toys are to be played with, and that children should play? Did he imagine that diving equipment, face masks, snorkel tubes, foot fins could appeal to the poor?

Then, truly like the Pied Piper, he led them through the dark. Weaving his way between crates and cartons, down passageways and up stairways, trailed by the prancing, screaming, laughing children, he showed them the treasures of the warehouse. "Take them," he said, and he laughed.

When one child, less thoughtless than the rest, remembered enough of what he had learned in church and school to ask, "Whose bicycles are these?" the lunatic answered, laughingly, "Take them! They are stolen property. Nobody knows any longer who owned them."

(Was this symbolic? Did he mean that these toys had been created by workers, nameless workers, unknown, unrecognized, who had been robbed of the fruits of their labor by the capitalists they served? Is that what he meant?)

How the turmoil grew! The children became frenzied. Surrounded by riches beyond belief, they tore at the cartons. They strained and tugged. Like diamonds deep in a mine, these toys were valueless to them unless they could bring them forth into the light of day. Some, hopeless before the task of getting their prizes down the stairs, flung them from the windows to the pavement five

stories below, where they lay, buildings emerged a lean little face, two alert eyes. The child had come.

Perhaps he beckoned. Perhaps he called. Perhaps he simply smiled. But the child came — can you see him? — warily at first, wondering, doubting, then the supreme disbelief changing abruptly to proven belief with the accomplished fact. Yes, the man gave him — actually gave him — a brand new bicycle, a bicycle that belonged to another man who owned a warehouse full of bicycles and intended to sell them. This lunatic blithely gave away a bicycle!

Then more children came. Most of them were Negro children, for many Negroes live nearby. And the lunatic gave away more bicycles. Word spread — didn't the madman know a thing like this would grow larger and ever larger? More and more children came like the children of Hamlin to the piping of the Piper.

I have heard it said that a lunatic has the strength of ten men. This may be so, but the madman of Seneca St. had not the strength to lavish gifts upon this rising tide of children. So he stepped back. He smiled even more brightly, and invited the children to enter — enter another person's warehouse!

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But for the police a job was just begun. Began was the mechanical routine of the investigation, checking, questioning, following leads. Scout cars fanned out through the dismal streets. Ragged children on shining new bicycles were stopped, interrogated. The bicycles were confiscated.

One little nine-year-old boy arrived breathlessly at the warehouse. Last night, bursting with a happiness too great to be borne, he had tossed sleeplessly on his bed. He had a snorkel tube. Tomorrow he would come back for a bicycle.

He had come. But there was no bike for him. Instead, a huge, blue-uniformed "police" man took away even his bright red snorkel. He stood helplessly in the sunshine, weeping.

Now it is over. The children have been dispossessed. Some adults and older boys have been taken into custody.

But you, my mad friend, with your gray hair and radiant laughter, you, dancing in your gray pin-striped suit, on what dull street are you sprinkling golden footstep? What gay lunacy bubbles and sparkles in your mind? What happiness are you gathering to strew in the wind?

Be careful, good lunatic. Stern, brutal men search the city for you. A building more dismal than the warehouses and pawnshops of Seneca St. awaits, and they will lock you into it if they catch you. If they can, they will pin you up in a little cell, and then you will surely die.

What can I say? Let me tell you what I would like to say. If I but dared, I would like to say: